especially parrots. Live parrots are kept in the villages and carefully raised for their feathers. They know the art of making parrots produce yellow feathers as has been mentioned in another section. Great herds of wild pigs feed in the fields and do great damage to the potato and manioc crops. The Chaná retaliate by hunting the thieves and eating their tasty flesh. They also do the same with deer, ant-bear, fox, hare, and similar four-footed animals. Monkeys, being great robbers of fruit, cause damage for which they have to pay dearly, as many are killed, their meat replacing the stolen fruits. [Sanchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.]

SHELTER

Terena houses, *ovokúti*, were built in a circle surrounding a central plaza called *nóneovokúti*. Villages, which varied in size, were built near sources of water and cultivable land. In the final stages of their stay in the Chaco, villages were not very permanent, as the Terena were on the move. The village, *oneu*, was not only a dwelling place but was also the primary political unit and the center of ceremonial life. Each household had its cultivated plot outside the village, and if these plots were at some distance from the village temporary brushwood shelters were thrown up for the night. The size and disposition of the houses gave no indication of the organization of the Terena into moieties or of the social importance of the chiefs.

As the Terena no longer remember the type of house which they used in the Chaco, we must depend upon historical sources. Even historical sources give us but an indirect description of the Terena house. Sánchez Labrador[1] gives us a description of a Chaná house, and as he states that the Terena belonged to the Chaná people and lived near them there is some justification in assuming that the Terena house resembled that of the Chaná:

The Chaná houses differ in type from Christian ones. Each house is from 16 to 20 yards (varas) long and 8 yards wide. The form of their structure is an arch, which is not supported by center pillars or columns. To sustain it, they use relatively long, thick sticks which make up the wall, the upper ends of which are curved inwards and tied together, but so that they do not touch. The height is about 5 or 6 yards. The houses have no ridges for the part which should be covered by the ridge is left open in order to let in light and to let out the smoke. That is why they do not close the arch completely. The whole framework is covered with a kind of thick long reed which they weave in a curious manner and place over the frame except for the opening. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 275–276.]

[1] [Work published in 1910–17, See bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

they built temporary shelters of brushwood. During this period, fish moved close to the banks and into shallow pools to feed and could thus be caught with greater ease. A very common way of catching fish consisted in a number of men entering the water in order to drive the fish into a corner from where they could be caught by hand and thrown ashore. In shallow water the Terena also used conical wicker baskets open at the top and bottom. These baskets, which were about 2.5 feet high, were dropped over the fish, the fish being extracted through the top by hand. Larger wickerwork fish traps were also used. The Terena claim not to have used nets. Fishhooks made from bone were used in deeper water. For catching large fish swimming on the surface of the water, the Terena used the bow and arrow. Among the commonest varieties of fish the Terena mention the following: "marobás," *chaca-chaca;* "*trairas*," *himon;* "bagres," *ayaporé.* Fish were either boiled, broiled, or baked wrapped in clay. For broiling, the fish was cleaned, split, and placed in a cleft stick with cross sticks to keep the fish spread out. The stick was then stuck into the ground near a fire and turned until the fish was broiled. Fish were also dried on a latticework frame over a fire.

The principal weapons of the chase were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the wooden club. The Terena used a bow about 5 feet in length and oval in cross section made from a reddish-color wood, the string being made of tucum palm fiber. For game, bone-pointed arrows with two feathers were used. For birds, arrows with several slender bamboo points were used. Arrows used for shooting fish did not have feathers. In using stones, with which to kill birds, the Terena put two strings on their bows. Formerly the spear was pointed with bone, but with the introduction of iron an iron point was used. A heavy flat wooden blade or club was also used for dispatching wounded game. In addition to these weapons, the Terena used pitfalls and numerous kinds of traps.

When game was scarce and spread over a wide area, men on foot went out individually stalking deer, peccary, rhea, and tapir. If game was more plentiful and the country suitable, game could be surrounded and driven into an enclosed area where they could be shot down or speared. This method of collective hunting was particularly common after the adoption of the horse. Jaguars were sur-

[P.10-A]

rounded by a number of hunters and when the jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harmful to the hunter.

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was employed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and even drinking water cannot be found except near the Paraguay River or some other river which comes from the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, the people move to places where water is plentiful and subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing and hunting supply only a negligible amount of food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic history of the Terena in the last hundred years. The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts:

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena.